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**ASYMMETRY OF POWER RELATIONS BETWEEN THAI
GOVERNMENT AND MALAY MUSLIMS AND ITS IMPACTS ON THE
CONFLICT IN SOUTHERN THAILAND, 2004 – 2013**



**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
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2016**

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**A Thesis submitted to the Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government
in fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy
Universiti Utara Malaysia**

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ABSTRAK

Konflik yang berlaku sejak tahun 2004 di Selatan Thailand telah menimbulkan perdebatan hangat, bukan sahaja dalam kalangan ahli akademik dan ahli politik, tetapi lebih memeranjatkan berlaku dalam kalangan pihak berkepentingan dengan konflik tersebut. Pelbagai hujah yang dilemparkan berkaitan teretusnya konflik di selatan Thailand, termasuklah petunjuk yang salah daripada pemimpin agama yang radikal dan kerajaan Thailand yang terus membuat penafian ke atas identiti orang Melayu yang beragama Islam. Tiada penjelasan yang jelas berkaitan hal asimetri (ketidakseimbangan) dalam hubungan kuasa antara kerajaan Thailand dan orang Melayu yang beragama Islam serta bagaimana dimensi ini menambah dan terus menyumbang kepada hubungan yang sedia ada, iaitu ketegangan dan konflik antara kedua-dua pihak yang bertelagah. Oleh itu, objektif kajian ini adalah untuk mengkaji dan menganalisis kedinamikan ke atas ketidakseimbangan hubungan kuasa antara kerajaan Thailand dan orang Melayu Islam dengan menfokuskan implikasi terhadap konflik di selatan Thailand berdasarkan gabungan teori-teori asimetri. Kerangka teoritikal ini menekankan interaksi strategik semua pihak yang terlibat dalam konflik dan cuba untuk menyediakan satu kerangka analitikal bagi menganalisis hubungan ketidakseimbangan kuasa antara semua yang terlibat dalam konflik. Kajian ini dibahagikan kepada tiga bahagian. Bahagian pertama mengkaji hubungan kuasa politik antara kerajaan Thailand dan orang Melayu Islam yang merangkumi dasar perdamaian pentadbiran selatan dan pergerakan politik orang Melayu Islam. Bahagian kedua tertumpu kepada hubungan antara kuasa ketenteraan kerajaan Thailand dan keupayaan pergerakan militan Islam. Bahagian terakhir membincangkan hubungan kuasa sosioekonomi antara kerajaan Bangkok dan orang Melayu Islam serta bagaimana ia menyumbang kepada konflik yang berlarutan di selatan Thailand. Hal ini termasuk juga kuasa kerajaan pusat dan keupayaan orang Melayu daripada segi sosioekonomi. Data untuk kajian ini diperolehi daripada data primer dan sekunder. Sumber data primer diperolehi daripada dokumen, laporan, ucapan, warta kerajaan diraja, siaran akhbar dan dasar keselamatan. Temu bual dengan tokoh-tokoh ilmuwan dan terkenal serta pihak-pihak yang terlibat dengan konflik juga telah dijalankan. Data sekunder termasuklah daripada buku, artikel jurnal, surat khabar dan majalah. Hasil kajian ini mendapati bahawa hubungan kuasa simetri antara kerajaan Thailand yang berkuasa dan kuat serta orang Melayu Islam yang lemah dan ditindas telah menyemarakkan lagi api konflik di wilayah ini. Malah pemberontakan yang berlaku adalah reaksi daripada militan Melayu Islam untuk menentang tindakan yang mereka anggap sebagai keganasan kerajaan Thailand terhadap cara hidup masyarakat Melayu Islam di sana. Perdebatan ini akhirnya menunjukkan bahawa tindakan kerajaan Bangkok dalam menangani konflik ini jelas tidak berkesan.

Kata kunci: Perhubungan kuasa asimetri, Teori Asimetri, Orang Melayu Islam, Selatan Thailand, Kerajaan Thailand

ABSTRACT

The conflict outbreak in Southern Thailand since 2004 has provoked a hot debate, not only among the academicians and political practitioners, but surprisingly it also involved a broad range of stakeholders in the conflict. Commentators provided a range of explanations for the resurgence of the conflict in southern Thailand. These include: misguidance from the radical religious leaders and Thai's government continuous denial of Malay Muslims' ethno-religious identity. Missing from these suite explanations is the asymmetry of power relations between the Thai's government and the Malay Muslims and how this dimension added or contributed further to the already tensed relations between the two warring groups. Thus, the objective of this study is to examine and analyze the asymmetry of power relations between the Thai's government and the Malay Muslims, with a particular focus on its implications on the conflict in southern Thailand, using combined theories of asymmetry. The theoretical frame work highlights strategic interactions of those involved and attempts to provide an analytical framework in analyzing the imbalance of power relations among those involved in the conflict. This study is divided into three parts. The first part examines the political power relation between the Thai's government and the Malay Muslims which includes peace-building policy of southern administration and the Malay Muslims' political movements. The second part explains the relation between the Thai government's military power and the capability of the Malay Muslims militant movements. The last part discusses the socio-economic power relation between the Bangkok government and the Malay Muslims and how it contributes to the raging protracted conflict in the southern Thailand. These include the central government power and the Malay Muslims' socio-economic capabilities. Data for this study were collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources include documents, reports, speeches, royal government gazette, press releases and security policies. Interviews with knowledgeable and prominent figures and those involved in the conflict were also conducted. Secondary data include books, articles, journals, newspaper and magazines. The study reveals the extreme asymmetry of power relations between the Thai's strong government, and the weak and deprived Malay Muslims, has contributed further to the intensity of the conflict in the region. It is discovered that the insurgency is a result of the Malay Muslim militants' reaction to resist what they considered as the state of violence against their very existence as people. Finally, it is argued that Bangkok government's effort to manage the conflict was ineffective.

Keywords: Asymmetry of Power Relations, Asymmetry Theories, Malay Muslims, Southern Thailand, Thai Government

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PERMISSION TO USE.....	i
ABSTRAK.....	ii
ABSTRACT.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
LIST OF APPENDICES	x
GLOSSARY OF TERMS	xi
CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background of the Study.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	6
1.3 Research Questions	8
1.4 Objectives of the Research.....	8
1.5 Significance of the Study	9
1.6 Operational Definitions.....	10
1.7 Literature Review.....	12
1.7.1 Literature on Political Power	12
1.7.2 Literature on Military Power	18
1.7.3 Literature on Socio-economic Power.....	22
1.8 Theoretical Framework	24
1.8.1 Asymmetry Theory	24
1.8.2 Strategies and Outcomes of Asymmetric Conflict.....	31
1.9 The Components of Asymmetry of Power Relations	39
1.10 Research Methods	40
1.10.1 Data Collection	40
1.10.2 Data Analysis	42
1.10.3 Limitations of Study	43
1.11 Chapterization	43
1.12 Chapter Summary.....	44

CHAPTER TWO THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	45
2.1 Introduction	45
2.2 Making of the Power Asymmetry (1900s – 1920s)	45
2.2.1 The Bangkok’s Administrative Reform	47
2.2.2 The Malay Muslim Rebellions.....	50
2.3 Tension in the Power Relations (1930s – 1940s).....	55
2.3.1 Nationalism and Militarism	56
2.3.2 The Seven Point Demand of Haji Sulong	61
2.4 The National Security and Insurgency (1950s – 1970s)	66
2.4.1 Authoritarian Regime.....	66
2.4.2 Separatism.....	69
2.5 Democratization and Transition of Conflict (1980s – 2003)	74
2.6 Chapter Summary.....	86
CHAPTER THREE THE POLITICAL POWER RELATIONS.....	88
3.1 Introduction	88
3.2 Political Tension and the Thai Government Responds	88
3.3 Peace Building Policy for the Southern Administration.....	94
3.3.1 Southern Border Provinces Peace Building Command (SBPPBC).....	95
3.3.2 Southern Border Provinces Administration Centre (SBPAC)	99
3.4 The Malay Muslims’ Political Movements.....	109
3.4.1 Political Participation.....	109
3.4.2 Movements for Self-determination	113
3.5 Chapter Summary.....	119
CHAPTER FOUR THE MILITARY POWER RELATIONS.....	120
4.1 Introduction	120
4.2 The Thai Government’s Military Power	120
4.2.1 Security Forces.....	122
4.2.2 Law Enforcement	128
4.3 The Military Capability of the Malay Muslims	136
4.3.1 The BRN-Coordinate’s Operational Level	136
4.3.2 Terrorism as a Weapon	144

4.4 Chapter Summary.....	153
CHAPTER FIVE THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC POWER RELATIONS	154
5.1 Introduction.....	154
5.2 The Thai Government Socio-economic Power	154
5.2.1 Socio-economic Development Policy	155
5.2.2 Compensation and Rehabilitation Measures.....	163
5.3 The Malay Muslims' Socio-economic Capabilities	168
5.3.1 Socio-economic Status Quo of the Malay Muslims.....	169
5.3.2 Cross-border Workers	176
5.3.3 Smuggling and Illegal trade	182
5.4 Chapter Summary.....	187
CHAPTER SIX SYNTHESIZING THEORIES AND PRACTICS OF POWER RELATIONS	189
6.1 Introduction	189
6.2 Asymmetric Interaction.....	189
6.2.1 Goals and Objectives	190
6.2.2 Strategies and Tactics.....	194
6.2.2.1 Political Strategies and Tactics.....	194
6.2.2.2 Military Strategies and Tactics	199
6.2.2.3 Socio-economic Strategies and Tactics	202
6.3 Peace Dialogue Process.....	205
6.4 Chapter Summary.....	213
CHAPTER SEVEN CONCLUSIONS	214
REFERENCES.....	228

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Percentage of Voter Turnout in General Elections (2001 – 2011).....	110
Table 4.1: Number of Armed Security Forces in Southern Thailand.....	127
Table 5.1: Thai Government’s Budget for Solving the Insurgency (2004 – 2014).....	162
Table 5.2: Thai Government’s Budget for Compensation and Rehabilitation (2004 – 2014)	167
Table 5.3: Population in Southern Thailand (2000 – 2010)	173



LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: The Components of Asymmetric Power Relations	39
Figure 2.1: The Structure of the Southern Border Provincial Administration in the Executive Order No. 8/2524, signed on January 24, 1981	76
Figure 3.1: The Structure of the Southern Thailand Administration, according to the Peace Building Policy	97
Figure 3.2: The Structure of the Southern Border Provinces Administration Center (SBPAC) since 2010	107
Figure 3.3: The Structure of Provincial Administration and Local Administration in Southern Thailand	114
Figure 4.1: The Structure of the BRN-Coordinate.....	138
Figure 4.2: Number of Casualty in Southern Thailand (2004 – 2013)	150
Figure 4.3: Number of Violent Incidents in Southern Thailand (2004 – 2013).....	152



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LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix A Map of Southern Thailand.....	255
Appendix B List of Interviews Conducted	256
Appendix C The General Consensus on Peace Dialogue Process Signed on February 28, 2013	257
Appendix D Briefing on the BRN’s Demands by the Joint Working Group – Peace Dialogue Process (JWG-PDP) Facilitator	258



GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Bersatu The United Front for the Independence of Patani
BIPP The Barisan Islam Pembebasan Patani (Islamic Liberation Front of Patani)
BNPP The Barisan Nasional Pembebasan Patani (National Liberation Front of Patani)
BRN The Barisan Revolusi Nasional (National Revolution Front)
CDR The Council for Democratic Reform under a Constitutional Monarchy
CPM 43 The Civilian-Police-Military Task force 43
CPM The Communist Party of Malaya
CPT The Communist Party of Thailand
DP The Democrat Party
EOD Explosive Ordnance Disposal
GAMPAR The Gabungan Melayu Patani Raya (Greater Patani Malayu Association)
GMIP The Garakan Mujahidin Islam Patani
GMP The Garakan Mujahidin Patani
IEDs Improvised Explosive Devices
IO Information Operation
ISA The Internal Security Act
ISOC The Internal Security Operations Command
NCPO The National Council for Peace and Order
NESDB The National Economic and Social Development Board
NRC The National Reconciliation Commission
NSC The National Security Council
NSO The National Statistics Office
OIC The Organization of the Islamic Conference
PAD The People's Alliance for Democracy
PAO The Provincial Administrative Organization
PPP The People's Power Party
PT The Pheu Thai party
PULO The Patani United Liberation Organization
RKK (Runda Kumpulan Kecil) The small militant unit
SAO The Sub-district Administrative Organization
SBPs The Southern Border Provinces
SBPAC The Southern Border Provincial Administrative Centre
SBPDSC The Southern Border Provinces Development Strategy Committee
SBPPBC The Southern Border Provinces Peace Building Command
SWCOM The Special Warfare Command
TF The Task Force
TRT The Thai Rak Thai Party
VDC/ Or Sor The Volunteer Defence Corps
VDV/ Chor Ror Bor The Village Defence Volunteers
VPV/ Or Ror Bor The Village Protection Volunteers

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

This study focuses on the conflict in southern Thailand as an internal armed conflict, which has been occurring in the territory of Thailand. It is clear that the Thai government and the Malay Muslims are the parties to this conflict. The recent outbreak of conflict since 2004 has provoked the most nuanced debate among scholars. With respect to earlier studies, the conflict has risen in the context of the War on Terror, as well as the role of international Islamic terrorism behind the global and local Muslims' activities are widely discussed issues. But many scholars clearly state that the Malay Muslims' insurgencies have not related to global issues or Islamic militant groups in other regions. They are only local conditions being the internal armed conflict between the government and the minority Malay Muslims (International Crisis Group, 2005; Sidel, 2007; Liew, 2007).

This study uses the term "southern Thailand" to represent the conflict area in Malay Muslim dominant provinces. Academic studies, reports of international organizations, the international media, and Thai media tend to use this term to signify the area of conflict in southern Thailand. However, in term of geopolitics, the southern region is on the Malay Peninsula, connected with the Central region of Thailand, and it may be classified into the south west coast and the south east coast. In term of administration, it may be roughly separated into sub-regions, for example; the upper southern represents to provinces above Songkla province and the lower southern, as well as the far south and deep south or southernmost are represented to

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